



The Historical Thread and Analysis of Teacher Education Policy in the Past 70 Years of New China

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Abstract

Since the founding of New China 70 years ago, China's teacher education has experienced a historical evolution from an independent closed teacher education system to a multi-open teacher education system. Starting from the paradigm of historical institutionalism analysis, this paper explores the basic logic of the evolution of China's teacher education policy. The study finds that: in terms of structure, the psychological model of political system, economic system and social culture is a deep structure that affects the evolution of teacher education policy; the control logic of centralized management and the thinking habit of planned economy have always been running through; in history, the reform of teacher education in China is more a product driven by external factors which is a top-down, government-led "mandatory institutional change", showing a clear path-dependent color, but there are also system fine-tuning, conversion, replacement, and even major disruption. How to find the historical "veto point" of institutional change to break through the path dependence of the existing teacher education development is a major issue in the reform of Chinese teacher education.

Key words: Teacher education policy; Historical institutionalism; Historical evolution, Basic logic

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Teachers are the "first resource" for educational development. Over the past 70 years, China's teacher

education has gone through ups and downs, with both gratifying results, there are also twists and turns of the pain. It has not only trained a large number of qualified teachers for basic education, but also made great contributions to social and economic development. Especially since the reform and opening up, the party and the state have attached great importance to teacher education and issued a series of policies for the development of teacher education. However, we must be clearly aware that there is still a gap between China's current teacher education and that of western developed countries, that teacher training is not consistent with the needs of basic education, that the principal contradiction of unbalanced and inadequate development of teacher education still exists, and that the theoretical system of teacher education with Chinese characteristics is not yet established. In addition, in the new historical position, teacher education has become the key and dynamic headspring to improve the quality of education, which embedded in the national education system, action and overall reform plan, it means that teacher education will usher in a new major leap. Therefore, based on the historical institutionalism theory and its analytical framework, the article goes beyond the static policy texts to explore the changes and continuation of China's teacher education policy in the past 70 years, and provides reference for the development of teacher education in the new era.

1. THEORETICAL BASIS AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 The Theoretical Basis of Historical Institutionalism

In the new institutionalism, historical institutionalism which as one of the most influential and earliest methodological schools, in sublation to the "deep structure (macro level)" of sociological institutionalism versus and

the “actor (micro level)” of rational institutionalism, has created the interpretation framework of “macro structure -- meso system -- micro actor” (Xie & Lu, 2014, p.71), it is emphasized to starting from the meso system, bring the actor into the institutional framework, so as to provide a new perspective for institutional research (Niu & Shen, 2015, p.74). It is more explanatory than the other two. The reasons are as follows: firstly, define the interaction between institution and individual from a broader scope; secondly, emphasize the asymmetry of game and power in the process of institution formation and operation; thirdly, emphasize path dependence and contingency when analyzing institutional change; fourthly, focus on the relationship between institution and environment from a holistic perspective (Wu, Bao & Ma, 2018, p.37). The methodology of historical institutionalism mainly includes two aspects: first, to explore the universal elements behind the system, namely the deep structure of the system; Secondly, through the actor game model to establish a logical connection between the universal factors and the special phenomena around them (Zhou & Wu, 2009, p.63). Typical features: diachronically, it emphasizes path dependence, and tries to find out the historical “veto points” that influence the institutional changes; structurally, it emphasizes the macro elements behind the system (Niu, 2012, p.71).

1.2 The Analytical Framework of Historical Institutionalism

There are three main steps in the analytical framework of historical institutionalism. The first step, the deep structure behind the system. Namely political system, economic system, sociocultural psychology and so on. The second step, the path dependence of institutional evolution. It emphasizes the historical inheritance and continuity of the system, and argues that in the process of institutional evolution, the later institutional change often to prophase system has highly dependent. The third step, the specific way of institutional change. Historic institutionalism holds that in order to change the path dependence of institutional change and realize institutional innovation, we must grasp the key node or historical “veto point” of institutional change. There are two main categories and four subcategories of this kind of institutional change. The first major category is the gradual institutionalization, that is, the fine-tuning, transformation, and replacement within the original institutional framework. The second major category is the institutional break, which is a complete break with the old system (Huang Rongxia, 2010, p. 70).

2. THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE CHANGE OF TEACHER EDUCATION POLICY IN CHINA

On the basis of absorbing the existing research literature, and taking the key events as the symbol, combined with

the theoretical interpretation of historical institutionalism, the evolution of China’s teacher education policy can be divided into three stages: radical institutional change (1949-1976), progressive institutional change (1977-1995) and constructive institutional change (1996-present).

2.1 Radical Institutional Change (1949-1976)

2.1.1 The Period of Taking the Soviet Union as a Teacher (1949-1956)

At the beginning of the founding of the People’s Republic, the urgent need for talent in the first five-year plan and the lack of experience in socialist school-running, “taking the Soviet Union as a teacher” became the rational choice of the government. In December 1949, the first National Education Work Conference proposed “to build on the experience of the Soviet Union and build a new-democratic education” (China Education Yearbook Editorial Department, 1984, p.683). In 1950, with the reform of Beijing Normal University as a breakthrough point, the upsurge of the reform of the national higher normal colleges was set off, and the chaotic situation of teacher education was reversed (Ma, 2003, p.40). Subsequently, the department was adjusted and all the normal colleges were set up independently¹. In 1952, the Ministry of Education take the Soviet Union’s system as a reference, to comprehensively formulated teaching plans, syllabus, teaching material and method, and reference books for various types of normal colleges and universities. In 1953, the first National Conference of Teachers of Higher Education once again proposed to “study the Soviet Union’s educational experience in a comprehensive, systematic and holistic manner” (Contemporary Chinese Series Education Book Editor’s Office, 1986, pp. 46-49). In October 1955, the Ministry of Education organized a delegation of primary and secondary school teachers to visit Soviet Union, focusing on study the experience of teaching work and teacher education (The Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of China, 1956, p.6). During this period, it aims to quickly restore normal education in the short term, accelerate the development of education cause, and train the shortage of talents needed for the economic and social development of the new China.

2.1.2 Independent Exploration Period (1956-1966)

After the systematic learning and imitation of the Soviet education model (specialist education) in the previous period, it has basically laid the foundation for our normal education system. With the continuous operation of China’s teacher education system, the various drawbacks of this system are also highlighted. In addition, the influence of the “Great Leap Forward” in 1958, the development of teacher education in China is chaotic; subsequently, the political relationship between China

¹ Three-level normal education: middle normal school, normal junior college education, normal college or normal university.

and the Soviet Union is broken, forcing China's teacher education to go the road to independent exploration. In January 1961, with the introduction of the "adjustment, consolidation, enrichment, and improvement" eight-character policy, the chaos of teacher education was curbed and the teaching activities were carried out in an orderly manner. However, in 1964, Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave instructions on the issue of the educational revolution, emphasizing that "class struggle is a main course" (Ma, 2003, p.51), causative the teaching order has been impacted again. During this period, normal education was intermittently influenced by political movements.

2.1.3 Period of Complete Interruption (1966-1976)

During the decade of the Cultural Revolution, most of the normal colleges and universities were forced to "Withdrawal, Change, Merger, Suspension, Migration", the teachers were devastated and persecuted, the teaching order was chaotic, and the quality of teaching was seriously degraded and so on. In the recent 17 years, the results of normal education have been negated, the college entrance examination stops enrollment, and talents have been broken, etc. According to statistics, from 1965 to 1971, "the number of higher normal colleges was reduced from 110 to 44, and the number of students decreased from 94,268 to 16,940, secondary school teachers and students decreased from 155,000 to the lowest of 15,000 in 1969" (China Education Yearbook Editorial Department, 1984, p.981). Normal education during this period was completely controlled by the needs of politics and class struggle.

In the recent 30 years, teacher education in China is developing in the process of breaking up and establishing, it is manifested in the obvious turning and breaking of the system, and it is belong a typical radical institutional change.

2.2 Progressive Institutional Change (1977-1995)

2.2.1 Full Recovery Period (1977-1985)

With the spring breeze of reform and opening up, teacher education has also ushered in the spring of development. In October 1978, the "Opinions on Strengthening and Developing Teacher Education" called for "accelerating the restoration and development of normal colleges" (Ma, 2003, p.54). Since then, all levels of the country have quickly resumed the three-level teacher education system for secondary normal schools, higher normal special school, and higher normal undergraduate school (Zeng, 2016, p.347). Since 1979 starting to establishment of specialized technical teachers' colleges, such as the former Tianjin Vocational and Technical Teachers College. In 1980, special normal schools were set up successively. Since then, teacher training institutions such as provincial (city) education colleges, teacher training schools, and radio and television universities in each place have been restored and rebuilt in successive. According to statistics,

by 1983, about 5 million primary and secondary school teachers in the country had received teaching and teaching methods training, and basically grasped the requirements and contents of the new syllabus and new textbooks (Zeng, 2016, p.376). In 1984, the number of educational colleges reached 218 (China Education Yearbook Editorial Department, 1986, p.63). By the end of 1985, "the total number of secondary normal colleges in the country had reached 1028, with 558,000 students, an increase of 87% from 297,822 in 1977" (Beijing Education Society Special Education Research Association, 1999, p.57). Among them, there are 57 preschool teachers' schools with 24,352 students (Yang, et al, 1989, p.264). Since then, China's teacher education has been on the right track anew, forming a good situation in which in-service teacher training and three-level normal education are develop together.

2.2.2 Exploring the Transition Period (1985-1995)

In the mid-to-late 1980s, according to the problems in the development of the former teacher education, such as low quality of teachers, shortage of funds, and rapid development. To this end, the first is to strengthen the importance of teacher education. In November 1985, the National Conference of Primary and Secondary School Teachers put forward that "serving for basic education is an important direction for the development of teacher education" (Guan, 2009, p.4). In February 1993, the "Outline of China's Education Reform and Development" once again emphasized that normal education is the "work mother machine" for cultivating teachers of basic education. The second is to promote the legalization of normal education. In April 1986, the "Compulsory Education Law of the People's Republic of China" first established the state's statutory responsibility for the development of normal education in the form of law. Since then, the "Trial Measures for the Assessment of Qualification Certificates for Primary and Secondary School Teachers" (September 1986), the "Teacher's Law of the People's Republic of China" (January 1994), and the "Teacher Qualifications Regulations" (December 1995) were issued. The third is to move from on-the-job training to continuing education. In 1986, the "Trial Measures for the Assessment of Qualified Certificates for Primary and Secondary School Teachers" marking the In-service teacher training in China towards institutionalization. In 1991, the "Opinions on the Continuing Education of Primary and Secondary School Teachers" meant that the training work of primary and secondary school teachers shifted from compensatory academic credentials training to continuing education. The fourth is the initial launch of the balanced development of normal education. In January 1994, the "National Normal Special School Face to Rural, the Summary of Seminar on Deepening Reform" proposed to "train qualified teachers for rural areas", and from 1995 to 2000 to implement the first phase of the "national

compulsory education project for poverty-stricken areas". Overall, performance for the characteristics of gradual institutional change, the prior period system often exerts influence on the late-stage system.

2.3 Constructive Institutional Change (1996-present)

2.3.1 Period of Steady Progress (1996-2005)

In the late 1990s, in order to cope with the problem of the quality of teachers after the expansion of higher education, the wave of international teacher education reform, and the challenge of talent demand in the 21st century. In September 1996, the fifth national conference on normal education was held, which marked that China's normal education developed from quantity, scale trend to quality and connotative development. The first is to reform the normal education system. In December 1998, the "Face to Action Plan for Education Revitalization for the 21st Century" proposed a teacher appointment system. In March 1999, the "Some Opinions on the Adjustment of the Distribution Structure of Normal Universities" clearly proposed the transition from "third-level normal schools" to "second-level normal schools", so as to gradually improve the level structure of normal education and practically improve the quality of teacher cultivate and training. Since then, China's independent and closed normal education system has been broken, from the "stage separation" of cultivate and training trend to the "coherent connection". The second is to promote the integration of teacher education. In 2001, the "Decision on Basic Education Reform and Development" replaced the concept of "normal education" with "teacher education" for the first time. In September 2001, China's first monograph on "Teacher Specialization" by systematic discusses was published in the book "Theory and Practice of Teacher Professionalization (edited by the Normal Education Department of the Ministry of Education, 2003)". In February 2004, the "2003-2007 Education Revitalization Action Plan" clearly stated that "the construction of an open and flexible teacher education system". During this period, driven by a series of policies, the professional construction of teachers was carried out in an orderly manner, the quality of teachers in basic education was significantly improved, and China's teacher cultivate and training system was gradually improved.

2.3.2 Innovation Breakthrough Period (2006-2014)

With the profound transformation of the country's economic and social development, the main status of teacher education is gradually weakened, and the quality of normal university students is gradually declining, and the attractiveness of teachers is still not strong etc. problems suddenly significantly. First, restart free normal education to improve the quality of rural teachers. In May 2007, the "Measures for the Implementation of Free Education for Normal University Normal Students Directly under the Ministry of Education

(Trial)" (hereinafter referred to as the "Free Policy for Normal Students") stipulates that six normal universities subordinated to the Ministry of Education have taken the lead in recruiting "free normal students", encourage high-quality youth to apply for normal education specialty and serve education cause in rural areas. Since May 2006, the "Circular on the Implementation of the Plan for the Special Posts of School Teachers at the Stage of Compulsory Education in Rural Areas" (hereinafter referred to as the "Special Post Plan") has created the action of a special service for rural education cause. According to statistics, by the end of 2014, 4.93 million primary and secondary school kindergarten teachers were trained, and completed a new round of training for more than 6.4 million rural teachers in the central and western regions, and more than 432,000 special post teachers were recruited (China Teachers' Newspaper, 2014). The second is to build a standard system for teachers team with Chinese characteristics. In 2010, the "Outline of the National Medium-and Long-Term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)" clearly stated that "the State shall establish the criteria for the qualification of teachers". In September 2011, it was proposed to gradually promote the national qualification examination system and develop a series of teacher education standards in succession (Qu Tiehua & Yu Ping, 2018, p. 39)

2.3.3 Deepening the Reform Period (2015-present)

Since the third plenary session of the 18th CPC central committee and the 19th CPC national congress has been convened, teacher education has entered the fast track of development. One is pay attention to quality features, strengthen the fairness of teacher education. In June 2015, the "Rural Teacher Support Program (2015-2020)" proposed the strategic position of rural teacher team building, and multiple measures to improve the quality of rural education. In January 2017, the "13th Five-Year Plan for National Education Cause Development" proposed to comprehensively promote the reform and innovation of teacher education and focus on improving the quality of teacher cultivate. In October 2017, the "Measures for Certification of Teachers' Specialty in General Institutions of Higher Learning (Interim)" clearly stated that "the establishment of a quality assurance system for teacher education". Two is improve the level of teacher training. In March 2018, the "Teacher Education Revitalization Action Plan (2018-2020)" (hereinafter referred to as the "Revitalization Plan") clearly stated "teacher cultivate level improvement actions". Three is respect teachers' subject status. In January 2018, "the opinions of the central committee of the communist party of China and the state council on comprehensively deepening the construction and reform of the new era of

² In March 2018, in the "Teacher Education Revitalization Action Plan (2018-2022)", "free normal students" was changed to "public-funded normal students". The same below.

teachers team” (hereinafter referred to as “the opinions of the new era”) stressed the extreme importance of teachers for the first time in the name of the central committee of the communist party of China, and proposed to follow the law of teacher growth and development. Four is carry forward the noble ethics of teachers. In September 2014, “on Establishing and Improving the Long-term Mechanism for the Construction of Teachers’ Ethics in Colleges and Universities” put forward “strengthen moral education and cultivate people and paying attention to students’ growth”. In January 2018, it was proposed that “A strong country must first strengthen its teachers and strengthen the construction of teachers’ morality and style” (2018).

3. BASIC LOGIC: DEEP STRUCTURE, PATH DEPENDENCE AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

3.1 Analysis on the Deep Structure of Teacher Education Policy

From the perspective of deep structure, political system, economic system and socially-oriented cultural mode are the main macro factors of the change of teacher education policy in China.

Firstly, economic system and teacher education. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, China implemented a planned economic system for a long period of time. The performance in the field of teacher education: the government allocates educational resources through administrative means, and the normal colleges are included in the national command planning system, the enrollment, employment, specialty setting, teaching work and training programs and so on of normal education shall be subject to the unified regulation and control of the state. After the reform and opening up, entering the period of “comprehensive recovery”, the market mechanism gradually became the leading mechanism of resource allocation, “efficiency first” became the main value orientation, the quasi-public nature of normal education and the normal education investment concept of “who invests, who benefits” are gradually recognized. To this end, the government gradually reformed the normal education system to adapt it to the needs of the socialist market economy. The teachers’ colleges and normal majors also gradually and evenly full charged, initially forming a “limited teacher market”, and the independent closed normal education system was thus broken. After entering the 21st century, under the influence of social economic transformation and supply-side structural reforms, the teacher cultivate and training model has gradually improved, forming a diverse and open modern teacher education system with teacher colleges as the main body and other high-level university participation.

Secondly, political system and teacher education. In the first 30 years of reform and opening up, under the influence of the planned economic system, China has formed a political system of “centralization”. Under this system, the right to recruit students, employment rights, decision-making rights and management rights of normal education are all vested in the central government. It is true that this model enabled the normal education in the early days of the founding of the People’s Republic of China to obtain strong political capital and was able to recover quickly and achieve large-scale development. However, the normal education that emphasized political assistance was also deeply ravaged by the “Cultural Revolution”. After the reform and opening up, with the deepening advance of the socialist market economy, the economic situation and development needs of the localities have shown great differences, the disadvantages of centralized management model are also exposed behind the scale, which is to say, normal colleges lack autonomy and initiative in running schools, the development of basic education in urban and rural areas is extremely uneven, and the quality of teachers is not high, etc. To this end, the government has clearly proposed the streamlining administration and delegating power, and implement a normal education system managed by the central and local authorities two levels, teacher education has entered the period of “exploration and transformation” and “stable progress”. The autonomy of running schools in normal universities has gradually expanded, the legal entity for running a normal school is clearly defined, the vitality of running a school in a normal college is very obvious, the quality of teacher training has been greatly improved, and it has adapted to the needs of the socialist market economic system. Since the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, under the influence of the state’s emphasis on the combination of macro-management and streamline regime and decentralization, put-tube combination, optimization services, the teacher education has entered the period of “deepening reform”, further expanded the autonomy of Higher Normal Education in running schools, and it advocates that higher normal education should adopt the strategic line and micro-practice of combining “streamline regime and decentralization, put-tube combination, optimization services” to improve the quality of teachers.

Thirdly, socially-oriented cultural model and teacher education. The social standard has a profound cultural tradition in our country and follows the idea of “national supremacy”. In 1951 and 1952, the adjustment of the department was to meet the needs of professional talents in economic construction at that time; in the 1950s and 1960s was learned from the “red people’s teachers” and guided the normal graduates to contribute to the country’s remote areas; after the reform and opening up, large-scale training of teachers is also to meet the needs of the

socialist market economic system; the purpose of the withdrawal and amalgamation of normal universities is to improve the comprehensive quality of teachers (have academic nature and normal characteristic), to meet the needs of modernization process and innovative talents; normal students' charge is to alleviate the national financial crisis; in 1999, the expansion of teachers' colleges was also to stimulate domestic demand and so on. All of which showed the value orientation of social tools, the internal laws of teacher education were hollowed out, and the meaning and value of teachers' lives were neglected. At the turn of the century, under the concept of lifelong education and the concept of "people-oriented" scientific development concept, the humanistic value of teacher education has gradually been valued; in 2010, the "National Medium and Long-Term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)" proposed "Implementing the policy of giving preferential treatment to teachers and establishing a salary system for teachers in line with the characteristics of Education"; the party's 19th National Congress report even more to use "people-oriented" as the value pursuit of education (Zhang, 2018, p.34); 2018 "New Age Opinion" proposes to follow the rules of teacher growth and implement training Independent choose to study, but also proposed that teachers should adapt to the needs of personnel training in the new era and enhance the level of specialization. It can be seen from this that the teacher's personal value is gradually valued, teacher education gradually returns to the essence, and personal value and social value promote the construction of the new era of teachers team in China in the dialectical unity.

3.2 Path Dependence Analysis of Teacher Education Policy

"Path-Dependence" was proposed by American economist Douglass C. North in explaining the evolution of the economic system. He believes that once people choose a certain some kind of system, they will self-reinforcement under the influence of inertia and not easy to change (Lu, 2004, p.171). The reason for this is that the return of institutional change is increasing, that is, the actor can easily obtain the expected return increase in the old system through the cost effect, learning effect, synergy effect, asymmetric effect of power and adaptive expectation effect and so on, resulting in the actor unwilling to jump out of the old system and carry out institutional reforms (Feng Yuan & Yu Haibao, 2017, p. 97). From a realistic point of view, the reform and development of teacher education in China is still dominated by the government and has a clear path dependence. The following is an analysis from the two levels of government and universities.

Firstly, the government level: the realization of interests and institutional strengthening. According to the theory of public choice, government institutions are composed of "limited rational economic men", its behavior exist

"self-profit", not only "maximization of public interest" as the goal (Guo, 2018, p. 37). Whether it is reforming the old normal education at the beginning of the founding of the People's Republic, or restoration and Reconstruction of Normal Education after Reform and Opening-up and even trend to the modern teacher education system, the government in rationally considering social order, boost national confidence, expected "incremental return" benefits and in terms of their own political status and national interests and other sides, inevitably there is "self-interest", and also directly or indirectly strengthens its dominant position in the development of teacher education, so that teacher education can follow the expected direction. Especially after the reform and opening up, government-led teacher education has developed the high density of the system (such as teacher law, teacher enrollment system, teacher title system, cultivate and training system, qualification system, etc.), and these systems, in turn, form a system matrix structure with the political system, economic system, and national education system, and produce self-reinforcing effects (Lu, 2004, p.170). Implementing the transformation of the main body of teacher education or changing the initial system is quite costly, and it will inevitably shake the political status of the central government, weaken the ability of the central government to control, and difficulty in realizing national interests. If continue along the initial system, the certain range unit cost and additional cost will decrease, and the expected benefits will increase. It is true that under the rational consideration of cost effects, synergies and adaptive expectations, the government also tends to lock in the original path.

Secondly, institutions of higher learning level: interest adherence and system dependence. At the beginning of the founding of the People's Republic of China, due to the influence of the planned economic system, various institutions of higher learning have also established a centralized management system (School-College-Department) that matches them. All matters of higher education institutions are implemented in accordance with government directives. The enrollment, employment and curriculum and so on of normal majors are all unified regulated and controlled by the government, which also sets the historical tone for the government-led teacher education. In the longer period after the reform and opening up, the government has always entered all aspects of normal education with "all-rounders". Under this system for a long time, institutions of higher learning have produced obvious organizational learning effects, found out a set of effective experience, know to seek advantages and avoid disadvantages, reduce their own development costs, and then also in turn to strengthen the system itself. Although in the late 1990s, the government proposed to streamline regime and decentralization, granting autonomy to colleges and universities, and defining the legal entity that runs in institutions of higher

learning run a school, but to this day, the pattern of under the mixed system of teacher cultivate and training (normal universities and other high-level universities), teacher education reform is still the leading power of the government far stronger than the internal strength of institutions of higher learning. Although since the 18th CPC national congress, government's has propose macro management and streamline regime and decentralization, put-tube combination, optimization services to further expand the autonomy of institutions of higher learning in running schools. But few institutions of higher learning have carried out teacher education reform from within the system in truly, most institutions of higher learning still have no incentive to jump out of path dependence. Coupled with the social form of "strong government—weak society" (Guo, 2018, p.35), the asymmetry of rights between the government and institutions of higher learning, and the personnel and financial powers closely related to the development of higher education institutions are still under the control of the government. Therefore, under the dual factors of the learning effect and the asymmetric effect of power, institutions of higher learning tend to lock in the original path and are unwilling to carry out new institutional reforms.

3.3 Analysis on the Institutional Change of Teacher Education Policy

Judging from the evolution of China's 70-year teacher education policy, institutional gradual progress and institutional fragmentation are interactive parallelism.

First, institutional change: a complete break with the old system. It manifests itself in the path steering of the system, showing volatility and fracture characteristics. In the view of historical institutionalism, institutional breaks often depend on key nodes and threshold effects (Yang, 2001, p.74). The so-called key nodes, that is, the impact of major political and economic events outside the institutional system or the superposition of some minor contingency factors lead to the break; the threshold effect refers to the fact that the internal contradictions in the institutional system accumulate to reach the critical value of a certain thing and cause the break. According to this, institutional fractures also appear in two forms: abrupt fractures and progressive fractures. From the history of the 70-year teacher education policy change, the abrupt fracture is expressed as: First, after the founding of New China, regime change, the government has taken over the old system of various types of normal colleges and universities, the unification was changed to public administration, and carry out socialist transformation. The second is the adjustment of the department in 1951 and 52 years, and the teachers' colleges are all set up independently. The third is the "Decade of the Cultural Revolution", with the politicization and classization of the education system, the normal education is in a state of complete rupture. Progressive fracture manifests as: First,

after the reform and opening up, the running of normal colleges and universities from centralized management to self-management. The second is to move from a single, closed normal education system to an open and diverse modern teacher education system. Third, the "Interim Measures for the Administration of Charges for Colleges and Universities (December 1996)" was promulgated, long-standing the free tuition for normal students has gradually moved towards full tuition. Fourth, in May 2007, the free policy of normal students was established, and the training of normal students from the fees to the step-by-step, planned free trend. Fifth, the new normal of economic development, supply-side structural reform, and the new era, the development of teacher education will gradually move from external drive to internal change. In short, the key to the innovation of teacher education policy lies in the key node and threshold effect of institutional breakage, that is, the historical "veto point"; only by profoundly analyzing the internal environment and external environment of this opportunity can teacher education break through there are path-dependent cages, to a new development and qualitative leap, to achieve modernization transformation. On the contrary, will be in the path of self-reinforcement to a dead end.

Second, institutional evolution: extending within the original institutional framework. Expressed as the extension of the system, path dependence, presents stability and continuity characteristics. In the past 70 years, the changes in China's teacher education policy have been more gradual changes. Based on the bounded rationality of human cognition and the experience of the original system operation, the gradual advancement of the system advocates regional pilots, phased breakthroughs, and the way of overall changes, and to move gradually toward the ultimate system or goal. In terms of fine-tuning of the system: In 1986, the "Opinions on Strengthening and Developing Teacher Education" puts forward that "the promotion of normal education to the strategic height of the development of education cause", it is to the "Opinions on Strengthening and Developing Teacher Education" (1978) proposed "put the developing education, improve the quality of education rise to hundred years of planning and the basic requirements for building a modern and powerful country" a fine-tuning of the system. In September 1986, the "Trial Measures for the Assessment of Qualified Certificates for Primary and Secondary School Teachers" was also the fulfills and implementation of the "National Teacher Certification System" proposed in the "Compulsory Education Law of the People's Republic of China" (April 1986). In 2015, the implementation of the national qualification examination for teacher qualification certification was in essence the deepening and extension of the 1995 "Teacher Qualifications Regulations", and so on. In terms of institutional replacement: In the middle and late 1990s, the change of the hierarchical structure of normal education

into “level 2” was a system transformation of the “level 3” hierarchical structure of normal education implemented for a long time after the founding of new China. In March 2018, the “Revitalization Plan” clearly stated: “Improve the level of teacher training”, and teacher education level structure changed from the old three levels to the new three levels (specialist, undergraduate, postgraduate). New age teacher team construction governance is a kind of institutional transformation of management of teacher team construction, and so on. In terms of institutional transformation: After the founding of New China, the free policy for normal students has been implemented for a long time. By the end of the last century, the free policy for normal students will be terminated, and then in 2007, the normal policy of normal students will return, etc. In short, the gradual progress of the system is more of a “marginal” institutional innovation, that is, the complement and improvement of the system.

4. RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS

This paper roughly sorts out the transmutation history and cause of change of China’s teacher education policy in the past 70 years and draws the following conclusions:

First, the mode of compulsory institutional change under the influence of deep structure. The so-called “mandatory institutional change” refers to a kind of “top-down” authoritative change that the government maximizes consideration based on national interests and uses policy tools as a means (Xu, 2018, p.22). Among them, the economic system more expresses the rational design of the national ruler; the political system reflects the government’s dominant position in the development of teacher education; the cultural model of social standard reflects the value pursuit of “maximizing national interests”.

Second, bright the path dependence color. Whether it is radical, progressive or constructive institutional change, the color of path dependence is very obvious. The initial choice of the former Soviet education model made the development of China’s normal education quickly locked in the dislocation of the government-led mandatory institutional changes. Based on multiple factors effect such as cost effect, learning effect, synergy effect, asymmetric effect of power and adaptive expectation effect, institutional interest community and action subject are often reluctant to independently seeking institutional change, resulting in long-term locking of the path.

Third, institutional breaks and institutional gradual interactions are interactive parallelism. At the beginning of the founding of the People’s Republic of China, the comprehensive transformation of the former normal education; the faculty adjusts the comprehensive imitation of the Soviet education model; the “Great Leap Forward” deviates from the law of normal education; the “Cultural Revolution” led to the overall collapse of normal

education, etc. show a volatility characteristic of obvious fracture. At the beginning of reform and opening up, the comprehensive correction of teacher education during the “Cultural Revolution”; training of normal school students transformation from free to charge and to free (public fee); teacher education management has moved from centralization to democratization; teacher education policy from fragmentation support trend to integration fusion the construction of the teaching team will move from management to governance; the allocation of teacher education resources is from scale to quality and fairness and other sides presents a relatively stable continuity feature. Generally speaking, in the past 70 years, teacher education has been circulating forward in the “balance-unbalance-balance”. In the future, teacher education policy should pursue gradual institutional design, so that teacher education can move forward in dynamic balance and try to avoid the abrupt system appear.

Fourth, the transition from a single value orientation to a multi-value orientation. Since the founding of new China and during the long period of reform-opening up, value orientation of teacher education policy in China all pointing to a single tool standard, emphasis on political centers, economic centers, and social centers. For example, “education must serve the proletarian politics”, “education must meet the needs of the socialist revolution and construction”, and “education should better serve the socialist modernization construction” and other policy discourses. Since the turn of the century, the value orientation of teacher education policy has become diversified. Such as “building a high-quality teaching team that comprehensively promotes quality education”, “improve the quality of teacher cultivate and training”, “cultivating teachers for rural education”, “follow the rules of teacher growth and the principle of ‘training on demand’”, “strengthen the construction of teachers’ morality and style”, “adapting to the needs of teacher education development in the new era” and other policy discourses; all reflect the pluralistic values orientation of politics, society, quality, fairness, and humanity. In the future, the value orientation of China’s teacher education policy will be extended under the concept of “people-oriented” and pay more attention to the realization of individual values of teachers.

Fifth, grasp the historical “veto point” of institutional change and seek institutional innovation. The following points need to be clarified: First, from the perspective of 40 years of reform and opening up, with the transition from a planned economy to a market economy, a transition from a centralized politics to a democratic politics, and a transformation from a power culture to a legal culture, the autonomy of colleges and universities is gradually expanding, the modern teacher education system is gradually improving. It can be said that the institutional environment and basic conditions required for the change of teachers’ education policy are already in place. Second,

the historical veto of teacher education policies seems to have emerged. Since the 21st century, the establishment of “people-oriented” scientific development, the new normal of economic development, streamline regime and decentralization, put-tube combination, optimization services, macro background such as supply-side structural reforms. For example, in May 2007, the normal students free policy returned; in January 2018, the “Opinions on the New Era” clearly proposed to vigorously revitalize teacher education; in March 2018, the “Revitalization Plan” proposed the establishment of the “teacher education” secondary discipline. Third, the changes in China’s teacher education policy depend on the top elite rulers who are the subject of historical veto. Government officials, university presidents, secretaries, and a wide range of well-known scholars and other actors have a deep understanding of the internal and external environment of the system to promote institutional innovation.

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